

THE EXAMINER.

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NOBLE BUTLER, }
LOUISVILLE, JAN. 20, 1849.

We send, occasionally, a number of the EXAMINER to persons who are not subscribers, in the hope, that by a perusal of it, they may be induced to subscribe.

Straw Powers.
The Cincinnati Atlas says: "We learn from a brother of the great sculptor that Hiram Powers will not return to the United States in the spring, as has been stated, a letter to that effect having arrived at hand. The same letter states that Mr. Powers has just received from 'Caravara' (we are not sure that this orthography is correct) a block of marble which cost him \$1,200, (the blocks of which Eve and the Greek Slave were wrought cost only \$300 to \$350), and we felt some curiosity to know what great work was coming next, but the relative of the artist did not know."

Western Organ and Messenger.
The two organs of the Sons of Temperance for Ohio and Kentucky have been united, and are published with this title. Mr. Underwood, of Louisville, who is well known to Kentuckians from the ability displayed in editing the Messenger, is the principal editor. Associated with him are Messrs. G. M. and E. S. Young. The paper is published simultaneously in Louisville and Cincinnati. The union of the two papers will be advantageous to the subscribers in both States. Experience has shown that an organ for a single State must languish. If the members of the Order in both States give cordial support to this paper, it will maintain a high rank among the papers of the country.

To the Friends of Emancipation—Circulation of Documents.

We presume, from what has already taken place in the Legislature, that delegates to the Convention will be elected in August, and that the Convention itself will meet in October next. We, therefore, have left a little over six months to the election. Within that period the great question of emancipation in Kentucky is to be met, discussed and decided. The question is, can it be done satisfactorily to those who wish to see our Commonwealth relieved of the greatest pressure that befalls it on its energies.

We have received letters from friends in different parts of the State, anxiously inquiring of us what plan has been adopted, or is in contemplation, for a proper and effective diffusion of emancipation sentiment? The writers of these letters, to a man, agree with us in the opinion, that it is not safe to leave the question to work its way by its own merits. They concur with us in the belief that the people need enlightenment, and that the best means to enlighten them is through the instrumentality of the printing press. Money must be raised for defraying the expense of printing and circulating newspapers and tracts among the people. The necessary fund can be raised, we think, without much difficulty. All that is needed is a few of the right sort of men in the various counties, to see and talk with their neighbors and friends, and induce them to contribute to an emancipation fund.

An intelligent and warm-hearted friend in Henry county, writes to us thus:—"The subject of emancipation is exciting a great deal of interest here. As may be supposed, many are opposed to it. The community are willing and anxious, however, to have the subject discussed, though the time has been that this would not have been allowed. No obstacle now exists in the way of a free examination of the question of slavery in all its relations to society."

"I would suggest that if documents could be distributed among the people, treating the question manfully, firmly, and yet calmly, they would exercise an immense influence in bringing about a resolution in public sentiment on the subject."

Another friend, a most earnest and devoted champion of freedom, writing to us from Lewis county, says that he has just returned from a visit to Maysville. He found great interest in the subject there, and was told that a thousand dollars could be raised in that city, for a fund to be used in printing and circulating documents. After mentioning the names of several gentlemen who will probably give sums of from fifty to a hundred dollars each, he adds—
"The proposition is to publish facts and arguments, showing the moral, pecuniary, intellectual, and social wrongs of slavery, to impress the people with these wrongs, and to arouse the masses."

"I think the proposed enterprise will be very effective. It is one well initiated by yourselves. It has long been contemplated. We want facts and arguments, showing the evils of slavery to the farmer, mechanic, the school system, the church, the every-day laborer, who has got the notion that emancipation will throw him out of employment and greatly diminish his means of getting a living, and of acquiring money and property, &c., &c."

There is a deep conviction in the minds of our friends throughout the State, that if proper exertions are used to inform the people fully on the subject, emancipation can be effected. It is also believed by many, that, unless some means are adopted, by which the people can be reached, the great, and good, and glorious cause of emancipation must be postponed, and our State must continue to groan under the curse of negro slavery through many dark years to come.

All reflecting men concur in estimating the effect of judicious and pointed documents alike. The political parties are aware of the great influence of scattering their respective publications among the people, and always attend to it. We do not think it likely that any one can exaggerate the influence which a series of tracts, containing facts and arguments on the subject of slavery, showing how it is inimical to men of all classes, and interests of all kinds, would have, if distributed widely over the State. There are thousands of men who only need a little waking up to become effective friends of emancipation. There is no need of reaching them. There are others who, from various reasons, are prejudiced against emancipation, who can be won over to truth and right, by having a few judicious considerations addressed to their minds. There are many conscientious slaveholders, too, who can be brought to see the monstrous evils of slavery; men who have not reasoned much on the subject, whose prepossessions in favor of slavery will fall as soon as the truth is presented to them. We wish to confirm all the friends of the cause in the State, and by placing in their hands facts and arguments, to enable them to meet the advocates of slavery advantageously. Now, if a series of documents calculated to enlighten the public mind on the subject of slavery, were thrown broadcast over Kentucky, the cause of emancipation would probably be secured beyond a doubt.

This paper, the Examiner, is by far too restricted in its circulation. No one connected with it expects to make a dollar by it. We intend to spend every cent we receive for it in defraying indispensable expenses. We call on each subscriber to use his influence with his neighbors. We earnestly ask each one to go around in his neighborhood and see if he cannot procure some subscribers. If each one will only do this, our subscription will be greatly increased, and we shall be able to address thousands of minds that need just such a newspaper as this.

The circulation of the Examiner must be at least trebled within the coming three months, and the increase will depend on the efforts of our friends. We are willing to labor for the cause without any pecuniary compensation, and we can, therefore, confidently appeal to our friends for assistance. There is not a day to be lost. We must all go to work with all our mind and heart immediately. Delay is not only dangerous, but, if much longer indulged in, it will prove fatal. Let it be continually borne in mind that Emancipation in Kentucky can be accomplished only by the united and persevering efforts of all its friends. You, readers, are precisely as much bound to labor in this glorious cause as we are; and we call on you, therefore, to reflect on what you owe the cause. Consult your heart, be counselled by your conscience, and then go to work for the redemption of our beloved Commonwealth from the thrall of African Slavery. Do you ask what you shall do? The answer is ready: Talk with your friends and neighbors and see that their hearts are true and their minds enlightened with respect to emancipation. Contribute your money and induce your friends to contribute their money, for the creation of a fund to be employed in sending the Examiner and tracts into every county and neighborhood in the State. Every dollar we receive shall be most scrupulously applied to the furtherance of the great object we have in view, for which we are willing to labor by day and for which we pray at night. Do not leave this sacred duty to be attended to by others. It is your duty, and you cannot transfer it to another. Remember that but a few months remain, and that a vast amount of labor is to be effected. It is to be performed by willing hearts and dedicated hands. Do not be guilty of the sin of folding your arms and concluding that others will carry out the work successfully. Each one has as much to do on his own account as he can perform, and no one can accept a commission to attend to the business of another. Money must be raised, conviction must be promoted, and for this purpose every anti-slavery man in Kentucky must give his time and means to the truly good and glorious cause of emancipation. Now let us join hands and hearts, and with shoulder to shoulder march firmly to the great work that invites our energies and is worthy of our best efforts. Let no one fall back and prove traitorous to the cause of freedom and humanity.

Go to work, friends, in your respective neighborhoods, and let us hear from you speedily as to what success you meet with.

Powers' Greek Slave.
This great work of the American sculptor has arrived in our city, and is daily visited by large numbers of delighted spectators. It is beautiful as the first pure sign of virgin life. There is nothing about the statue that is not beautiful. It is beautiful in the general idea, and beautiful in all the details. There is a soul in that marble that kindles a soul in every beholder. We wonder at the magic power of the artist, which can give softness to the rigid marble, and fill it with the features of life. This statue does not seem like Pygmalion's, to require the Goddess of Beauty to give it life. The life is there. The statue tells a tale of robbery and inhumanity, of blighted hopes and affections, of home and friends lost forever. We look with the maiden to the past, where all the sunshine of her life is gathered, and to the future, where no ray penetrates the gloom. The brightness of the past serves only to give intensity to the darkness of the future.

Some have objected to the exhibition of this statue as indecent. We feel confident that those who have seen the statue have made the objection. They fear only the effect upon the minds of others. We believe that any one who is affected with any but the purest feelings in the presence of this representation of purity, is so impure that there is no hope for him—he is gone past redemption. It is the impurity of his own soul that is reflected from the marble. He is corrupted by it as the dead carcass is corrupted by the rays of the sun. He would gather impurity from the sight of Virtue herself, as the spider collects poison from the most beautiful flowers. He would be warmed into vice by the sight of the icicles that hang on Dian's temple.

We wish to say a word or two about the charges that have been lately made against Mr. Powers. We have read with care the publications that have been made on that subject, and we believe that Mr. Powers is entirely free from blame. In August, 1845, Mr. Robb requested Hon. R. H. Wilde to write to Mr. Powers, and learn from him on what terms he would furnish Mr. R. with a copy of the Greek Slave. Mr. P. agreed to furnish a copy for 600 pounds, one half to be paid in advance, and the other half upon the completion of the work, at the end of two years. Everything goes to show that the statue was to be delivered in Florence. In December, 1845, Mr. R. wrote to Mr. P. ordering a copy of his *Ecce*. Mr. P. believed that to be a mistake, and wrote to Mr. R. stating his belief. Mr. R. wrote in answer that he was a copy of the *Greek Slave*, and not of the *Ecce*, that he wished. This letter was received by Mr. Powers on the 6th of June, 1846. Every one must see that the two years within which the statue was to be completed must be computed from this time. Mr. Powers could not know that Mr. Robb had not changed his mind. He could not commence the statue till he had heard from Mr. Robb.

At the time of Mr. Robb's application, Mr. Powers had nearly completed a copy of the *Greek Slave* for Lord Ward, and had made considerable progress on another copy which had been ordered by Sir Charles Coote. These are the two copies which are now in this country. Neither of them was originally intended for Mr. Robb. The artist had obtained from Mr. R. permission to exhibit his copy, when finished, in the cities of the United States, as long as he liked. Before Mr. P. had received an answer to his application for permission to exhibit, Lord Ward consented to give up his copy to the artist, in order that he might exhibit it in America.

Mr. P. then determined to let Mr. Robb have the copy originally intended for Lord Ward, if Mr. R. should make no objections to the exhibition. But after this copy had been sent to America, Sir Charles Coote wrote to Mr. Powers, informing him that his private fortune had been impaired by the troubles in Ireland, and he wished Mr. P. would take the statue off his hands. Mr. P. supposing that Mr. Robb might wish to receive it sooner than the Ward statue could be delivered to him, wrote to Mr. R. and offered the Coote copy to him, stating, at the same time, that it was of much purer marble than the Ward copy. Mr. R. refused this offer, and demanded the delivery of the Ward copy on the 1st of March, 1848. To avoid litigation the statue was delivered to him.

Mr. Robb claims that the two years expired in January, 1848; but it must be evident to every one who examines the subject, that the time did not expire till June 6, 1848.

Mr. Powers contracted to furnish a copy to Mr. Robb; but Mr. R. acted as if the artist had agreed to furnish the copy intended for Lord Ward. He had no greater claim to this particular statue than he had to the one purchased by Mr. Grant. He indignantly refused the Coote statue, as if there were an intention to cheat him. Our conclusion is, that Mr. Robb must have labored under some strange misapprehension in regard to his rights. We cannot see any thing to censure in Mr. Powers' conduct.

We invite attention to the following communication and the subjoined comments:

For the Examiner.

Emancipation—No. 5.

An attempt to answer some questions propounded to the writer "Moses" by the Editor of the Examiner.

GENTLEMEN—The first paragraph in my article No. 3, was a verbal correction of the typographical errors in the one which preceded it. If you will show me fairly, I can't see what excuse you can give for not printing it. It is not unreasonable that I should desire to be correctly understood. Will you not publish the correction, and also the following in Nos. 3 and 4. In No. 3, line 27, for "not to" put "not as;" for "Anglo Romanas" put "Anglo Normans." In No. 4, for "We," in line 45, put "He;" "difference," in line 59, should be "differences;" "rocks of igneous formation," should read "rocks not of igneous, &c."

You are rather complaining, gentlemen, that I do not answer certain questions. I do not know that I ought now to stop to answer them more particularly than I have been doing. I came to the conclusion, immediately after reading the first number of your paper, (No. 76) which you were so kind as to send me, to write a series of articles upon the subject. I saw at once that your paper was very ably conducted, and I had no doubt that you had a highly respectable class of readers—I differed (honestly I trust) from you, too, as to the value of your articles. I knew that they would never see my articles if I wrote for any other journal. I do not so deceive myself as to imagine that what I write will have any great weight with any body, but I know one thing very well, that is, that to understand this question as it ought to be understood by us all, before we elect delegates to the Convention next summer, it ought to be discussed in all its length and breadth. I think that people are in favor of abolition and emancipation because of their partial and limited views of it. I do not think that I ever argued for victory. My ancestors took some part in achieving our Independence, and my aim is the perpetuity of our confederated Republic, the good of our common country, and truth. You cannot desire anything else. But to arrive at the truth in this matter, we must take a very extended and comprehensive view of it. Do you not, and do not all who advocate abolition and emancipation, set out by comparing Kentucky and the slave States with the free States. I have set out to do the same thing. I have, however, concluded to step in my series of articles, and answer, or try to answer some of your objections now, because I am not well, and have very much to do, and I find it much easier to answer your objections than to write one of the series of articles.

You ask me to give you authority for what I said in my first number, as to the condition of the negro race in Africa. You surely know too well the rules of logic to require of me any such thing. If I were to say that there was not a county in Kentucky in which the people did not grow cotton, would you not at once say that there was no cotton grown in Woodford or Bourbon, and require me to prove that there was. Now, if you will name any extensive territory in Africa, where the negroes have exclusive control, in which they do not either capture one another in wars and then kill them or sell them into bondage, or sell their own children, then I will tell you what I know about that part of Africa, and give you my authorities. If there be any such place you ought to know it. I do not. As to the white men who have participated in these abominations, I hold them in utter abhorrence, though I have no doubt there have been good men who have been engaged in the slave trade; for, as instance, the great English divine, John Newton. And after all, to judge according to man's judgment, I think that many slave traders will be as likely to stand at the right hand of the Great Judge in the day of final accounts, as those two Arch Bishops, and twenty-four Bishops in England, of whom Mr. Alexander Campbell speaks, as receiving forty millions of dollars as a yearly income, while the millions of their flocks are dying from want and wretchedness.

I never said that the slave trade was under the special patronage and sanction of Heaven. I think the question is very fairly answered, however, in number 3. You ask me, does slavery, American slavery, regard marriage as sacred?

It has been my fortune to meet with many gentlemen who have traveled extensively in Europe, some of whom have sojourned several years in all the larger States in Europe; and I have read some books on the subject; and from what these books and these gentlemen tell me, I have no doubt that there are in proportion to the population, as many chaste and virtuous married slaves in the United States, as there are married free women in Europe. The commissioners appointed by Parliament to examine into the state of education in Wales, say that in that country they reverse the Welsh practice; that is, that there are scarcely any of the girls who are virgins when they marry. I think there is no man who ever staid a week in New York city, but will say that there are more prostitutes who promenade Broadway at night than there are virtuous women who walk there, during the day. Where do they all come from? Not from the slave States, certainly, for a very obvious reason. But for exciting the river of our neighbors nearer home, across the Ohio River, I could tell something of their great purity. It is not for argument sake, or to compliment the white women in the slave States, that I affirm that they are the chaste and purest women in the world; but because it is a fact to their everlasting honor be it spoken. Does all this count for nothing? In making up the crown of this country's jewels, does the angel-purity of the fair daughters of the South count for nothing? In what States were the Presidents of these United States born? Did their pure mothers have no part in forming their characters? That great and good man, John Quincy Adams, said more than once in Congress, and he seems always to have said it with a feeling of intense mortification—that the men of the slave States had always determined the legislation of the country. Give the North her Tariffs, &c., and she was content. Did the women of the South have no part in giving to their sons and husbands this superiority? Say what you may for education, the men who govern a nation are the great men of that nation, whether they are educated or not. Can any man believe that if every man in France knew that his wife was virtuous, it would be a year before they would have a good, well-established government? If the women in France were a majority of them virtuous, would they hold their elections on Sunday?

Well, you may say, that allowing all this to be so, this is not answering your question. Very well. But am I discussing negro slavery in Kentucky as an abstract question? If the marriage relation is better observed among the negroes in the slave States, than it is among them in Africa, is there not a great gain? But how do you propose to mend this matter? Your Louisville committee, in urging a plan which will after a while abolish slavery in Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri, say: "The subdivision of slaves among so many owners, (in these States) withdraws the females from the market, secures their marriage, affords the sick and infirm proper care, and thus renders these States so prolific nurseries." Now, where do they propose to send them? Where do all the emancipationists allow that a large majority of the slaves of Kentucky will be sent? To the South; where this same Committee say their life will be so much harder, and where they will be so much worse cared for, that they cannot propagate so fast.

You know very well, gentlemen, that even at the North, among the most decided abolitionists, there are many of the most intelligent of them, who see that all schemes of abolition which have any regard to the welfare of the poor negro, are so utterly impracticable, and who see so clearly that it is the existence of the negro race in the United States, and not the slave condition of it, which constitutes the evil, that they do not hesitate to say, that if such is the law of their race, that they must degenerate and finally be exterminated if they are liberated, let them perish, all of which would be better expressed in the language of Cain, "Am I my negro brother's keeper?" "God has no right to require this of my hands."

Finally, as to how far the institution of slavery is sanctioned and approved of by the Almighty, you certainly will allow that the only way by which man can know anything as to the will of God about anything, is from his inspired word. Now, do you not know that God by his servant Moses, instituted perpetual slavery among the Jews; a slavery which did not terminate with the year of Jubilee; and do you not know that God by his servant Moses did give particular laws as to the Government of this same institution? And once more, is not this same Bible fact a stumbling block in your way, and the greatest difficulty with which you have to contend?

I have heard many sermons in my life, and I hope to hear many more; but those sermons have been few and far between, in which the preacher did his duty either to the servant or the master, as to what they owed to each other. Here is where the matter ought to commence: let every Christian master treat his servant as he is commanded in the Bible and there would be no great sin in it.

I think that you emancipationists deceive this people, and present the question with two faces, when you are asked what is to become of the negro, if an emancipation act be passed. You nearly all say that they will, a majority of them, be sold to the South, where they will climate suit them; and where they will be no worse off than they are with us. Here you say nothing about the sin of Christians in the sugar and cotton growing States holding slaves, &c., &c., and here you take no count of the happiness of the negro. When I present the question with its relative bearings and its inseparable consequences, you answer me by asking if I defend slavery in the abstract. Who is the best friend the negro ever had? May I not say with truth, a considerate, Christian master.

In my next I will take up where I left off in my last article, with the negro race.

Moses.

There are several points in the preceding article, on which we desire to present a few remarks.

First. Our correspondent complains that there have been typographical errors in his communications, and demands fair play.

Fair play, it is our wish and purpose always to give to correspondents, whether advocating or opposing the cause dear to us, and we are astonished at the intimation that we have failed therein. We can say with all the confidence of conviction, that a paper has never been published which aimed to deal more fairly with opponents than the Examiner. Let our publication to the addresses of Geo. W. Johnson, Esq., and President Shannon, unabridged and entire, testify to the truth of this assertion. In fact, such has been our courtesy in this respect, that friends have remonstrated with us as going beyond all reasonable limits. But truth is our aim and we are determined, as far as in us lies, that truth and error shall have an open field and a fair fight.

We regret that any typographical errors should have disgraced our correspondent's articles, but, if he knows anything about newspapers, he knows that errors will sometimes occur, where extreme care is taken. If "Moses" will look over the past numbers of the paper, he will find as many errors in the editorial columns as in his communications. We regret that errors are ever made, but he may rest assured that as much care is taken to present his articles correctly as with any portion of the Examiner. So much for "fair play."

2. The next point on which we wish to offer a few remarks, is the condition of the negroes in Africa.

"Moses," it will be remembered, asserted without qualification, of the negroes, that in Africa "the law of their nature and their race is to hunt and kill and devour one another, or to waylay and seize and sell into bondage; and this horrible condition was presented in contrast with the condition of the blacks in America, as a justification of slavery."

Now we know, as every one knows, that the moral condition of Africa is dark and terrible indeed, but we do not know that its condition is universally so terrible as "Moses" asserts. Therefore asked him for proof of his assertion. He has heretofore declined giving it, and still declines. He now takes shelter behind a rule of logic, and refuses to substantiate his statement until we have demonstrated its unsoundness. He will prove his assertion true after we have proved it false. Very well; we cheerfully concur. We seek no shelter behind rules of logic or any other defence, except the simple bulwarks of truth.

The assertion of "Moses" is that slavery universally prevails in Africa, and of such terrible nature, connected with cannibalism, &c., as by contrast to justify American slavery. Now, in passing, we may remark, that it is difficult for us to understand how a great wrong in Africa justifies a smaller wrong in America. We can understand why the fact of the terrible bondage of the blacks in Africa would justify benevolent efforts in their behalf, efforts to deliver them from bondage and give them liberty; but it certainly is beyond our comprehension how that fact can justify their transfer into other bondage, even though of milder form, and especially, when that transfer can be made only by one means, and that means, one which the Christian world has pronounced infamous, the African slave trade. This certainly is an anomaly in morals, if not in logic, that humanity and religion demand and justify an institution which could not possibly exist except through the instrumentality of a traffic which both humanity and religion pronounce accursed?

But let us turn to the facts which caused us to doubt the accuracy of "Moses'" statement. The eminent writer, Maitte Brun, states that "the country between the Senegal and Gambria is inhabited by the Galof, a negro tribe, a mild, hospitable, generous and faithful race, among whom justice is regularly administered by a chief judge, who travels over the kingdom." The testimony of the celebrated but unfortunate traveler, Clapperton, is equally interesting and satisfactory. He unites with other most intelligent travelers in Africa in attributing to the negroes the possession, in an eminent degree, of humanity, fidelity, and hospitality. These travelers also concur in stating that invariably they found the Negroes better men than the Moors; and as we remarked on another occasion, surely a people among whom the exalted touching proverb, "Strike me, but say no harm of my mother," is as familiar as household words, never was created for the sake of eternal slavery.

Now, friends "Moses," what think you? Do you suppose that if slavery exists among tribes possessed of such a character, it is of that terrible nature which you spoke of as prevailing throughout Africa, in comparison with which American slavery brightens into a blessing? Perhaps you may conclude with us that your statements need to be somewhat modified.

3. The third point to be noticed is the slave trade. We reject that our friend's seeming doubts have passed away, and that he joins with us in denouncing the trade as infamous. "Moses" certainly is advancing. A little while since he thought "it hard for him or us to say how far God sanctions the slave trade." He can find no difficulty now, for he surely does not think it possible for the Almighty to sanction an infamous traffic! Will "Moses" be so kind as to inform us how it happens that an institution, which he thinks has the blessing of Heaven resting upon it, has grown out of a trade which is abhorrent to Heaven and earth? The Savior says a corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit, but, according to our friend's views, there is a very good fruit growing out of a very bad tree.

4. The fourth point to be observed is the marriage question.

We desired to know how, as a Christian, "Moses" could approve and defend a system which does not even recognize the marriage relation. And what does he say in reply? Why, "that according to the population there are as many chaste and virtuous female slaves in the United States as there are married free women in Europe." We confess that this opinion strikes us as having the merit of entire originality. In which of the slave States, we should like to know, is marriage made the shield by the majesty of law? Of course humane masters often recognize the validity of the marriage relation among the blacks, but where does the law recognize it? In which one of the fifteen slave States are masters by law prevented from separating husband from wife? Where are the clerks' offices in which the marriages of slaves are recorded?

The truth is, that whatever individuals may do, the slave system does not recognize marriage among the slaves any more than among any other species of property. Yet "Moses" regards slavery as a Christian institution!

We pass by the astounding assertion of "Moses" in regard to Broadway without comment. It was probably the extravagant production of a somewhat excited imagination. Nor have we comments to offer in regard to his eulogium upon the fair wives and mothers of the South. No one can surpass us in admiration for them, though that admiration does not require of us to institute ludicrous comparisons between them and the wives and mothers of the North. Pure as crystal is the fame of the mother of Washington; equally pure the fame of the mother of John Quincy Adams. Their names and the names of all the glorious sisterhood, America will always cherish as the brightest gems in her coronet. Will "Moses" permit us to remind him that the hearts of those noble Southern women, whose memory he reveres, the mothers of Washington and his compeers, glowed with a genuine love of liberty? They kindled the sacred flame in the bosoms of their sons, who, while contending for their own liberty, earnestly desired liberty for all. Washington and Patrick Henry and Jefferson, with all of their true-hearted associates, deplored slavery as an evil and a wrong, and earnestly desired its extinction.

It has been reserved for "Moses," and others who glory in their revolutionary ancestry, to regard slavery as a divine institution on which the blessings of Christianity rests. Whether this is to be considered as a sign of progress or of degeneracy, it is not for us to say.

5. One point more remains to be briefly examined; the defence of slavery from scripture.

"Moses" thinks that "this Bible fact" is a stumbling block in our way—our greatest difficulty. Whether it be a difficulty or not, we rejoice that "Moses" has brought it forward. Let us see how much of a stumbling block it really proves. The argument is this: that because Moses permitted the slave institution among the Jews and made particular laws for its government, therefore we may believe that American slavery is approved and sanctioned by the Almighty. The general principle on which this argument rests is that whatever Moses permitted or sanctioned among the Jews is right for us, nay more, is binding upon us. Let us see how far the modern "Moses" will abide by the principle. One of the laws instituted by Moses was that a stubborn son should be stoned to death, Deut. 21-22. Should not this law be enforced now, as it was among the Jews of old? Or let us take an instance bearing more directly upon the point before us. One of the "particular laws" instituted by Moses for the regulation of slavery was, that a runaway servant should not be delivered up to his master, Deut. 23-16. "He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates where he liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him."—How does our friend like this "particular law"? Are he and his pro-slavery friends ready for its application to American slavery? From their efforts sometimes made for the recovery of runaway slaves, efforts not always of the gentlest kind, we should imagine that the propriety of this law in its application to American slavery is not universally admitted. Let there be consistency. If the authority of Moses is invoked for the justification of slavery, let his authority be equally regarded in the regulation of slavery.

But we have not time now to dwell upon details. Nor is it necessary, for we assert that the principle, on which the justification of American slavery by slavery among the Jews rests, is not sound. It is not a fact that because Moses permitted or commanded a thing to the Jews, therefore it is necessarily binding on us. We are not living under the Mosaic, but the Christian dispensation. "The law was our school master, to bring us to Christ." Have we not the express teaching of the Savior in illustration of this point? "Ye have heard that it hath been said, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you, that ye resist not evil." &c. &c. Moses permitted divorces among the Jews. What says Jesus? "Moses, because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered you to put away your wives." The Mosaic dispensation was preparatory to the Christian dispensation. The great principles of the moral law which it announces are universal and enduring; and these Christ has reiterated and incorporated with his divine religion. But many of the rites and regulations of the Mosaic code were local and temporary in their application. To this class doubtless belong the laws and regulations pertaining to slavery. They gave way and were intended to give way before the all-comprehensive and universally binding principle of Christ, in whom there is neither bond nor free, "that whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

Such are our views upon "the Bible fact."—Whether this be a stumbling block or not, "Moses" can now judge. The Bible presents no difficulty to us upon this subject. The most serious difficulty that we have to contend with in regard to slavery, is found in the fact, that professed Christians should invoke the blessing of Christ upon an institution which stands in direct opposition to his spirit and precepts: an institution which owes its existence to a traffic which the Christian world condemns as a practice of its mother, is as familiar as household words, never was created for the sake of eternal slavery.

Now, friends "Moses," what think you? Do you suppose that if slavery exists among tribes possessed of such a character, it is of that terrible nature which you spoke of as prevailing throughout Africa, in comparison with which American slavery brightens into a blessing? Perhaps you may conclude with us that your statements need to be somewhat modified.

3. The third point to be noticed is the slave trade. We reject that our friend's seeming doubts have passed away, and that he joins with us in denouncing the trade as infamous. "Moses" certainly is advancing. A little while since he thought "it hard for him or us to say how far God sanctions the slave trade." He can find no difficulty now, for he surely does not think it possible for the Almighty to sanction an infamous traffic! Will "Moses" be so kind as to inform us how it happens that an institution, which he thinks has the blessing of Heaven resting upon it, has grown out of a trade which is abhorrent to Heaven and earth? The Savior says a corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit, but, according to our friend's views, there is a very good fruit growing out of a very bad tree.

4. The fourth point to be observed is the marriage question.

We desired to know how, as a Christian, "Moses" could approve and defend a system which does not even recognize the marriage relation. And what does he say in reply? Why, "that according to the population there are as many chaste and virtuous female slaves in the United States as there are married free women in Europe." We confess that this opinion strikes us as having the merit of entire originality. In which of the slave States, we should like to know, is marriage made the shield by the majesty of law? Of course humane masters often recognize the validity of the marriage relation among the blacks, but where does the law recognize it? In which one of the fifteen slave States are masters by law prevented from separating husband from wife? Where are the clerks' offices in which the marriages of slaves are recorded?

The truth is, that whatever individuals may do, the slave system does not recognize marriage among the slaves any more than among any other species of property. Yet "Moses" regards slavery as a Christian institution!

We pass by the astounding assertion of "Moses" in regard to Broadway without comment. It was probably the extravagant production of a somewhat excited imagination. Nor have we comments to offer in regard to his eulogium upon the fair wives and mothers of the South. No one can surpass us in admiration for them, though that admiration does not require of us to institute ludicrous comparisons between them and the wives and mothers of the North. Pure as crystal is the fame of the mother of Washington; equally pure the fame of the mother of John Quincy Adams. Their names and the names of all the glorious sisterhood, America will always cherish as the brightest gems in her coronet. Will "Moses" permit us to remind him that the hearts of those noble Southern women, whose memory he reveres, the mothers of Washington and his compeers, glowed with a genuine love of liberty? They kindled the sacred flame in the bosoms of their sons, who, while contending for their own liberty, earnestly desired liberty for all. Washington and Patrick Henry and Jefferson, with all of their true-hearted associates, deplored slavery as an evil and a wrong, and earnestly desired its extinction.

It has been reserved for "Moses," and others who glory in their revolutionary ancestry, to regard slavery as a divine institution on which the blessings of Christianity rests. Whether this is to be considered as a sign of progress or of degeneracy, it is not for us to say.

5. One point more remains to be briefly examined; the defence of slavery from scripture.

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